

Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 ADDIS 02535 011610Z

44

ACTION AF-06

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 NEA-10 IO-11 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00

PM-04 H-02 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01

SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 ARA-06 EA-07 /099 W

----- 073885

P R 011436Z MAR 76

FM AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 8354

INFO AMCONSUL ASMARA

AMEMBASSY ALGIERS

AMEMBASSY CAIRO

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY MOGADISCIO

AMEMBASSY NOUACKCHOTT

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY RABAT

USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

AMEMBASSY DAKAR

AMEMBASSY JIDDA

AMEMBASSY KHARTOUM

AMEMBASSY KINSHASA

AMEMBASSY MADRID

AMEMBASSY MAPUTO

AMEMBASSY MONROVIA

AMEMBASSY NAIROBI

C O N F I D E N T I A L ADDIS ABABA 2535

DEPT PASS OTHER AF AND NEA/AFN POSTS AS DESIRED

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR OAU XA XF AG SS MO ET FT SO KE

SUBJ: OAU CM ENDS WITHOUT RECOGNIZING POLISARIO

REF: ADDIS ABABA 2469 AND PREVIOUS

SUMMARY: 26TH ORDINARY OAU COUNCIL OF MINISTERS (CM) FINALLY

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 ADDIS 02535 011610Z

ENDED AT 8 AM LOCAL TIME, MAR 1. LONG, HARD-FOUGHT

DEBATE OVER WESTERN SAHARA WAS PRINCIPAL REASON FOR CM'S LENGTH. IN SPITE OF NUMEROUS AND VARIED ALGERIAN MANEUVERS, MOROCCO AND MAURITANIA WORKED SUCCESSFULLY TO PREVENT OAU RECOGNITION OF POLISARIO AS EITHER A LIBERATION GROUP OR A GOVT. SPOKESMAN FROM TFAI GOVT AND OPPOSITION PARTIES AND THE TWO LIBERATION GROUPS ADDRESSED THE POLITICAL COMMITTEE ON FEB 28 AND THE OAU FACT-FINDING DEL SCHEDULED TO GO TO DJIBOUTI (CF PARA 3, ADDIS 2469) WAS ENLARGED TO INCLUDE LIBERIA, MOZAMBIQUE, AND ZAIRE. KENYA ABSENTED ITSELF FROM THE ENTIRE CM IN PROTEST OVER OAU CHAIRMAN AMIN'S CLAIM TO KENYAN TERRITORY. AS IN THE CASE OF THE ANGOLA SUMMIT IN JAN, INTRA-AFRICAN IDEOLOGICAL DIFFERENCES FIGURED MUCH MORE PROMINENTLY IN THE DEBATES THAN TRADITIONAL ETHNIC, LINGUISTIC AND GEOGRAPHICAL DIVISIONS. END SUMMARY

1. WESTERN SAHARA: IN CM, DESCRIBED BY OAU ASST SEC GEN FOR POLITICAL AFFAIRS PETER ONU AS "ONE OF THE LONGEST ON RECORD," DELS AVOIDED RECOGNITION OF POLISARIO EITHER AS A LIBERATION MOVEMENT OR A GOVT. WHEN THE POLITICAL COMMITTEE FAILED TO REACH A CONSENSUS AFTER THREE DAYS OF DELIBERATIONS, THE ISSUE WAS TAKEN TO THE PLENARY. LENGTHLY DEBATE (AND, ACCORDING TO MOROCCANS, TRICKY ALGERIAN TACTICS) FAILED TO RESOLVE THE ISSUE. FINALLY, LIBERIAN PLENARY CHAIRMAN WAS ASKED TO GIVE A RESUME OF THE DEBATE WHICH WAS THEN UNANIMOUSLY ACCEPTED. RESUME CONTAINED THE FOLLOWING POINTS:

(1) THE SITUATION IN WESTERN SAHARA HAD BEEN LARGELY PRECIPITATED BY THE MACHINATIONS OF IMPERIALISM, PRIMARILY OF SPAIN WHICH HAD ABANDONED ITS RESPONSIBILITY TO THE SAHARAN PEOPLE;

(2) THE PEOPLE OF WESTERN SAHARA HAVE THE RIGHT TO SELF-DETERMINATION WHICH THEY HAVE NOW EXERCISED BY PROCLAIMING THEIR INDEPENDENCE, AND

(3) THE RECOGNITION OF POLISARIO AS A GOVT IS THE PEROGATIVE OF MEMBER STATES NOT THE CM.
(COMMENT: THE ABOVE FORMULA NEATLY SIDESTEPS THE QUESTION
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 ADDIS 02535 011610Z

OF RECOGNIZING POLISARIO AS A LIBERATION MOVEMENT BECAUSE, ACCORDING TO THE MOROCCANS, BY ITS OWN ADMISSION, IT IS A GOVT). IT ALSO GETS OAU OFF THE HOOK IN FACE MOROCCAN THREATS TO LEAVE ORGANIZATION IF POLISARIO RECOGNIZED BY IT. ALTHOUGH NO VOTE ON RECOGNITION WAS TAKEN, HEAD COUNTERS REPORT THAT ANGOLA, GUINEA, BISSAUE, GHANA, MOZAMBIQUE, CAPE VERDE, SAO TOME, GUINEA, COMOROS, BENIN, MADAGASCAR, BURUNDI, ALGERIA, LIBYA, SOMALIA, TANZANIA, AND THE CONGO FAVORED POLISARIO'S RECOGNITION. NIGERIA,

CHAD, EGYPT, GAMBIA, UPPER VOLTA, SUDAN, UGANDA, LESOTHO, AND ETHIOPIA REPORTEDLY EXPRESSED NO PREFERENCE. MOROCCO, MAURITANIA, SENEGAL, CAR, ZAIRE, TUNISIA, ZAMBIA, MALAWI, LIBERIA, CAMEROON, IVORY COAST, NIGER, AND MALI WERE AGAINST RECOGNITION. NIGER AND MALI REPORTEDLY WERE VERY HELPFUL TO MOROCCO DURING THE DEBATES. LOCAL RADIO (RVOG) ASSERTS MADAGASCAR HAS ALREADY RECOGNIZED POLISARIO'S SAHARAN DEMOCRATIC ARAB REPUBLIC.

2. TFAI ALI AREF BOURHAN, TFAI COUNCIL PRESIDENT AND LEADER OF THE UNION FOR NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE (UNI); HASSAN GOULED, SEC GEN OF THE LEGAL OPPOSITION PARTY AFRICAN PEOPLE'S LEAGUE FOR INDEPENDENCE (PLAI); ABDILLAH HAJI ARRDEY, VICE PRESIDENT OF THE SOMALIA-BACKED FRONT FOR THE LIBERATION OF THE SOMALI COAST (FLCS); AND AHMED BOURHAN, SEC GEN OF THE ETHIOPIAN-BACKED MOVEMENT FOR THE LIBERATION OF DJIBOUTI (MLD) REITERATED THEIR WELL-KNOWN VIEWS TO THE CM FEB 28. THEIR POSITIONS WERE NOTED. REPORTEDLY, BENIN AND THE CONGO ATTEMPTED TO PREVENT ALI AREF FROM SPEAKING. APPARENTLY, A TOTAL OF TEN STATES SUPPORTED AN ANTI-ALI AREF POSITION. THEY WERE OVERRULED BY THE COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN. MOZAMBIQUE, LIBERIA AND ZAIRE WERE ADDED TO THE FIVE NATIONS (UGANDA, EGYPT, TANZANIA, SENEGAL, AND GUINEA) ALREADY COMPRISING THE OAU FACT-FINDING DEL SCHEDULED TO VISIT DJIBOUTI "SOON."

3. AFRO-ARAB COOPERATION: AFTER MUCH DISCUSSION WHICH REPORTEDLY CONTAINED CRITICISM OF ARAB AID TO AFRICA, A RESOLUTION ON AFRO-ARAB COOPERATION WITH MANY AMENDMENTS WAS ACCEPTED. IN HIS FINAL PRESS CONFERENCE, ASST SEC GEN ONU WAS UNABLE TO GIVE DETAILS OF THE RESOLUTION "BECAUSE HE HAD NOT SEEN IT." THE DOCUMENT SHOULD BECOME AVAILABLE "IN A WEEKS OR SO." IT WAS ALSO DECIDED THAT THE SECRETARIS-CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 ADDIS 02535 011610Z

GENERAL OF THE OAU AND ARAB LEAGUE SHOULD MEET TO DISCUSS AND FIX A DATE (NOW SUGGESTED FOR MID-APRIL) FOR A CONFERENCE OF AFRICAN AND ARAB FOREIGN MINS TO DISCUSS AFRO-ARAB COOPERATION. DAKAR AND CAIRO HAVE OFFERED THEMSELVES AS VENUE FOR THE CONFERENCE.

4. OTHER MATTERS: A U.S. DOLLARS 7.8 MILLION OAU BUDGET WAS ADOPTED. CONDEMNED WERE: FRENCH "IMPERIALISM" IN THE COMOROS; COLLABORATION WITH SOUTH AFRICA; THE POLICY OF APARTHEID; THE "SO-CALLED INDEPENDENCE OF BANTUSTANS"; ISRAELI "AGGRESSION" AND OCCUPATION OF PALESTINIAN LANDS.

5. KENYA ABSENT: ALTHOUGH SEVERAL REPS FROM THE EMB HERE HOVERED AROUND THE PROCEEDINGS, A KENYAN DEL NEVER APPEARED AT THE CM. NO STATEMENT OR OFFICIAL EXPLA-

NATION WAS GIVEN FOR THIS ABSENCE, BUT KENYAN FIRST SEC TOLD EMBOFF IT WAS A SIGNAL OF PROTEST AGAINST AMIN'S CLAIM TO KENYAN TERRITORY. HE SAID AMIN'S LATER CLARIFICATION MADE NO DIFFERENCE "BECAUSE NOBODY BELIVES WHAT HE SAYS ANYWAY." COMMENT: MANY DELS, ESPECIALLY THOSE FROM MODERATE STATES, REGRETTED KENYA'S ABSENCE BECAUSE IT REDUCED THEIR NUMBER BY ONE. MANY FELT THAT KENYA HAD OVERREACTED TO THE IRREPRESSIBLE, IRRESPONSIBLE OAU CHAIRMAN.

6. ALGERIAN ISOLATION: ACCORDING TO MORE MODERATE DELS ESPECIALLY THE MOROCCANS, ALGERIAN FURTHER ISOLATED ITSELF IN THE OAU BY ITS TACTICS OVER WESTERN SAHARA. AN ALGERIAN RESOLUTION RECOGNIZING POLISARIO HAD BEEN PRINTED WITH AN OFFICIAL OAU SECRETARIAT LOG NUMBER EVEN THOUGH IT HAD NEVER BEEN OFFICIALLY ACCEPTED BY THE POLCOM. THIS RESOLUTION WAS THEN SUBMITTED TO THE PLENARY BY CAPE VERDE (ACTING AS ALGERIA'S STALKING HORSE) AS A POLCOM REPORT. MOROCCO, WHICH HAD LEARNED OF THE PLANNED TACTIC EARLIER, THEN BLEW THE WHISTLE. THIS ALGERIAN-CAPE VERDE MANEUVER REPORTEDLY LOST ALGERIA ANY HOPE OF OBTAINING A MAJORITY OF SUPPORT FOR ITS POSITION. LATER, THE MOROCCON DEL TOLD A PRESS CONFERENCE THAT ALGERIA WAS ISOLATING ITSELF IN THE OAU "AS IT HAD DONE IN THE ARAB LEAGUE (WITH THE EXCEPTION OF PDRY)" WHEN IT CONDEMNED KING HASSAN IN 1974.

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 05 ADDIS 02535 011610Z

7. OAU SECRETARIAT UNDER FIRE: MOROCCO BLAMED CAPE VERDE/ALGERIAN RESOLUTION MANEUVER ON UNNAMED "IRRESPONSIBLE SECRETARIAT OFFICIALS." THIS WAS AN OBVIOUS REFERENCE TO ASST SECGEN DJOUDI, AN ALGERIAN, WHO IS BELIEVED RESPONSIBLE FOR GIVING THE UNOFFICIAL RESOLUTION AN OAU LOG NUMBER. THE SECRETARIAT HAS PROMISED TO INVESTIGATE THE MATTER. COMMENT: OTHER STATES, MOST NOTABLY ETHIOPIA, HAVE ALSO RAISED THE QUESTION OF INAPPROPRIATE AND UNAUTHORIZED ACTIVITIES BY SECRETARIAT OFFICIALS, ESPECIALLY TAMPERING WITH THE AGREED UPON TEXTS OF RESOLUTIONS TO REFLECT MORE CLOSELY THE VIEWS OF THEIR OWN GOVTS OR FRIENDS OF THER GOVTS. ETHIOPIAN MOFA SOURCES INFORM US THAT THEY INTEND TO KEEP THIS "DOCUMENTATION" ISSUE BEFORE THE OAU AS MUCH AS POSSIBLE.

8. "RADICAL-MODERATE" DIFFERENCES CONTINUE: AS IN THE ANGOLAN SUMMIT, OAU MEMBERS WERE SPLIT MORE ALONG IDEOLOGICAL LINES THAN ALONG GEOGRAPHICAL, LINQUISTIC AND ETHNIC ONES. IN THE TOUCHSTONE ISSUE OF WESTERN SAHARA, HOWEVER, THE "RADICAL" BLOC WAS SMALLER (LESS THAN 20) THAN IN THE ANGOLAN CASE. THIS WAS PROBABLY DUE TO THE LACK OF A NON-BLACK AFRICAN TARGET (I.E., SOUTH AFRICA) TO RALLY AGAINST. "MODERATE"

CRITICISM OF "RADICAL KNOW-NOTHINGS" AND INEXPERIENCE WAS VERY WIDESPREAD IN THE CONFERENCE CORRIDORS. SEVERAL "MODERATE" DELS SPOKE OF DEVELOPING TACTICS TO OPPOSE THE "RADICAL" GROUP PREPARATORY TO THE SUMMIT IN MAURITIUS.

9. EXCEPT FOR FRANCE (OVER THE COMOROS) AND SPAIN (WESTERN SAHARA), WESTERN NATIONS, INCLUDING THE U.S., RECEIVED LITTLE OR NO CRITICISM. ALTHOUGH THE CM MADE THE RITUAL CONDEMNATION OF ISRAEL, REPORTEDLY NOTHING WAS SAID ABOUT ITS EXPULSION FROM THE UN, ETC. OTHER NON-AFRICAN, NON-ARAB MULTILATERAL ISSUES, SUCH AS PUERTO RICO, KOREA, ETC., WERE NOT DISCUSSED.
HUMMEL

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: POLICIES, RECOGNITION, MINISTERIAL MEETINGS, TERRITORIAL CLAIMS, LIBERATION FRONTS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 01 MAR 1976
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: GolinoFR
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1976ADDIS02535
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Film Number: D760077-0481
From: ADDIS ABABA
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1976/newtext/t197603109/aaaadsjq.tel
Line Count: 237
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ACTION AF
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 5
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: 76 ADDIS ABABA 2469
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: GolinoFR
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 16 APR 2004
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <16 APR 2004 by ElyME>; APPROVED <19 APR 2004 by GolinoFR>
Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
04 MAY 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: OAU CM ENDS WITHOUT RECOGNIZING POLISARIO
TAGS: PFOR, XA, XF, AG, SS, MO, ET, FT, SO, KE, OAU, POLISARIO
To: STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006